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ART. X.—*New England's Memorial*, by NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Fifth Edition. *Containing, besides the original Work, and the Supplement annexed to the Second Edition, large Additions in Marginal Notes, and an Appendix, with a Lithographic Copy of an Ancient Map*, by JOHN DAVIS, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1826.

It has full often already been said and sung, that we of this country are singularly fortunate in having our whole national rise and progress lie within the limit of recorded time. The poetically inclined among us are, no doubt, losers by this circumstance. They are best served by the opportunity to give shape and local habitation to the manageable phantoms of a heroic age. But historical records furnish fitter food for the philosophical hobby of the present day; and the curious and idle, always a class worthy of consideration, and never more so than now, welcome a like provision for their studies. What would be the price of a copy of Cadmus' journal of his descent upon the 'land of lost gods and godlike men,' if it had pleased him thus to make trial of his newly imported machinery of letters. With what rejoicings would this world of virtuosi 'ring from side to side,' if we should dig up the inscription *locating* the two acres of land, which, says Pliny, Romulus assigned to each primeval citizen; that is, if ever there lived such a personage as Romulus, a thing which we are far from being so hardy as to affirm. And with what a birth of gorgeous quartos would the foreign press labor, if some hitherto undecyphered parchment should be found to exhibit Hengist's first muster roll after his debarkation on British soil.

The founders of our polity enjoyed more facilities for an exact, if not for a splendid transmission of their fame, than did those ancient worthies. When they were disposed to communicate with posterity, it was not needful for menial scribes to be summoned, nor hard rock to be polished, nor tough vellum to be dressed. Ink and paper were cheap commodities, and according to their cheapness, in almost as free use as now. Besides the natural feelings and the occasions of business, which led them to maintain voluminous intercourse with their friends

at home, our fathers brought with them that itch for writing, which had spread by such a wide contagion in the parent country, at a time when a large portion of the people had begun to set up for their own priests, and were beginning to imbibe the disposition to become also their own rulers. In consequence of this, writings of our leading men in every period of our history are extant, either in print or in autograph, in such abundance, that whosoever, properly qualified by habits of observation and industry, will set himself to the task of investigating the events and the condition of any given time, may acquire much the same familiarity with his predecessors that he has with his neighbors. Due care has been and is taken of these precious documents. The twenty volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain a fund of materials for the annalist of New England, altogether unrivalled in any similar collection: and for the more adventurous explorer, there are mines of antique wealth in the library of that society, and of the Boston Athenæum, and in the Ebeling collection now added by a distinguished individual's munificence to the before rich stores of this kind at Cambridge.

As we hinted, the poetical glory, which if we were more ignorant, would surround the image of our founders in our minds, is thus shorn of not a few of its beams. They are altogether despoiled of those qualities of heroism, which, if the testimony may be credited of such as have been familiar with heroes, fade away under the observation of their *valets de chambre*. As far as we have gathered our notions of greatness from true, so called, or fictitious histories, in verse or prose, the minute accounts which we have of these good men, from themselves and their contemporaries,—of their occupations, measures, and motives, their scanty means, material wants, and homely expedients for supplying them, are apt to give us a pretty thorough lesson in the doctrine of *nil admirari*. But what we lose in the poetical interest, we gain in the accuracy and reality of our acquaintance with them; and this to some minds will be held for more than a compensation. Besides, their circumstantial history opens new lights to the philosophical observer of human nature, as it has been developed in different ages and circumstances. It is a new help towards dispelling that delusion, by which the arts of poetry would lead us to invest those who have been concerned with great events, in attributes distinguishing them widely from the nameless remain-

der of the race. It satisfies more completely of that truth, which of all painters of heroic fiction, only Shakspeare and Scott have ventured to let their readers see, that in most respects of character, of mental experience, nay, of essential fortune, individuals great by office and achievements bear a strong resemblance to common men. It vindicates the identity of human character, and so furnishes a commentary on those exaggerated portraits of it, in one aspect, which have come down from worse informed times. Undoubtedly we owe as much to the settlers at Salem and Plymouth, as Greece and Rome professed to owe to their fabulous dynasties of kings, and should be ready and prone to make as much, if we knew as little, of them. There is small hazard in the conjecture, that Winthrop and Bradford were in all respects quite as praiseworthy persons as Theseus or Numa, but a hard fate has exiled them from that region of the *unknown*, which, according to the proverb, is always the favourite sphere of the *magnificent*. In the shallop built by the carpenter, whom the provident Plymouth company transmitted with the minister and the salt man, there were coasting voyages made which might well have furnished the hint of another Argonautic expedition, if less had but been left on record concerning their purposes and prosecution. Captain Standish, if he ever heard of Hector's rapid movement before his enemy round the walls of Troy, we have no doubt disdained comparison with that hero, and held that his bold expedition against the aborigines of the Bay was a theme much more worthy, than the defence of the key of Asia, to be 'wedded to immortal verse'; but his friends, when they wrote down the number of the host that followed the Plymouth 'king of men,' foreclosed his hopes of ever figuring in epic song.

The last year was a memorable year to the antiquaries, witnessing, as it did, the publication of elaborate editions of the two principal documents relating to the earliest period of New England. In our number for January, we called our readers' attention to the very learned edition of Winthrop's Journal, by Mr Savage, embracing for the first time that part of the work which records the occurrences between September, 1644, and January, 1649; an inestimable fragment, which, having been preserved by extraordinary good fortune, was discovered eleven years ago in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston. To this work Morton's Memorial is properly a *pendant*, narrating the establishment and early fortunes of the colony of New Plymouth.

as the Journal does of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. They are the most valuable remains in their respective departments.

The Memorial was first published in 1669, in the lifetime of its author, Nathaniel Morton, who, three years after the settlement at Plymouth, being then eleven years old, came thither from his native town in the north of England, with his father and mother, who was a sister of Governor Bradford. He was admitted a freeman in 1635, and ten years after was elected Clerk, or Secretary of the Colony Court, which office he continued to hold forty years, till the time of his death. His work was printed at Cambridge, in a small quarto volume, the colony of Plymouth defraying part of the charge. A second edition appeared at Boston, in 1721, with a Supplement by Josiah Cotton, Register of Deeds for the county of Plymouth. Of this edition, two reprints, have been made, namely, in 1772, at Newport, and within the past year at Plymouth.

The circumstance of the undertaking of Secretary Morton being patronised by the public treasury, corroborates the inference which it would be safe to draw from his standing in the infant colony. Higginson and Thatcher, ministers of Boston and Salem, bear their testimony in an advertisement, that 'this present narrative is a useful piece; the author is an approved godly man,—and the work itself is compiled with modesty of spirit, simplicity of style, and truth of matter;' adding their 'hope that the labor of this good man will find a general acceptance among the people of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the colonies, who have had knowledge of things from the beginning, to contribute their observations and memorials also, by which means there may be matter for a just history of New England in the Lord's good time; in the mean time, this may stand for a monument, and be deservedly acknowledged as an Ebenezer, that hitherto the Lord hath helped us.' In a premonition 'to the Christian reader,' the author announces 'the main ends of publishing this small history' to be, 'that God may have his due praise, his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work in the relation of the first planting of New England.' Its method he describes as 'in some measure answerable to the ends aforementioned, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth, upon special occasions, with allusions to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some

special instruments of such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, and especially in a faithful commemorizing and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them.' 'For the earliest events,' he says, in a dedication to Governor Prince, 'the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study from the year 1620 unto 1646.' 'Certain diurnals of the honored Mr Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help, and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge), than I have studied quaintness in expression.'

The work, in fact, claims no lower a rank than that of a formal history of Plymouth Colony, and in some sense of the other four colonies of New England, from the first plantation in 1620 to the close of 1668. Some chapters are prefixed presenting a rapid sketch of the emigration to the Netherlands, in 1602, of the negotiations with the Virginia Company, and of the hardships and perils of the voyage, and the first settlement. From March 1621, events are recorded under the respective years of their occurrence. The record is sometimes very scanty, relating little more than some unimportant casualty, or the arrival or death of some useful individual; and in a few instances, such as under 1640, 1641, 1648, and 1654, containing only the names of the magistrates for the year. Generally, however, it is full, and not seldom minute. Private anecdotes, letters, good sayings, biographical notices and other *memorabilia* of various kinds are interspersed, with tributes in prose and verse, elegies, epitaphs, anagrams, and acrostics, in honor of distinguished citizens deceased. It must be owned, indeed, that the narrative, though always sincere, and sometimes lively, is often framed upon trivial events, and drawn out to a tedious length. Undoubtedly it compares ill in these respects with some remains, which on the other hand cover little ground in comparison with it. But if we will observe the difference between that portion of Hubbard's History, in relation to which he had this work to follow, or rather to transcribe, and that

subsequent barren portion, in whose compilation he had not the same advantage, we shall be prepared to estimate the value of the Memorial.* It is altogether the richest treasury existing of facts belonging to the period of which it treats.

But criticism of this work has been barred for some generations, by the literary common law of limitation. By the lapse of time, carrying many of the events to which it refers into forgetfulness, and the names which it recites into disuse, it had come to stand in need of illustrations which no man was better able than Judge Davis to afford; and the fruit of his labors to that end is now as gratefully received as it has been impatiently expected. The *antique wood* is no longer difficult to thread. His culture has made it rejoice and blossom;

‘Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.’

Judge Davis follows the text of the original edition, restoring, in some instances, readings which had been corrupted in the copies, and distinguishing the original comments, many of which were probably written by Governor Bradford. He adds the Supplement of the second edition, from the pen of Josiah Cotton, sometime Register of Probate and of Deeds for the county of Plymouth; a document, however, of very little value, compressing into four pages, the events of twenty-three eventful years, in which, among other things, were consummated the war with King Philip, the English revolution, and the union of the Old Colony with Massachusetts. The matter now first given in this connexion, to the public, is digested into marginal notes, and an appendix which occupies more than a quarter of the volume. How valuable it is, may be partly supposed from an enumeration of the sources whence light is concentrated in this focus. A part of the printed authorities referred to are, the histories of Robertson, Hutchinson, Neal, Trumbull, and Winthrop; the biographical notices of Belknap, Allen, and Eliot; the collections of Hazard, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Holmes's Annals, Prince's Chronology, Johnson's Wonderworking Providence, Hubbard's Indian Wars, Mather's Magnalia, Purchas's Pilgrims, Mourt's Journal, Winslow's Good Newes from New England, Smith's New England's Trials, Morton's New English Canaan, and Rog-

* For an estimate of the character of Hubbard's History, and the result of a critical collation of it with those of Morton and Winthrop, we refer to Mr Savage's edition of Winthrop's History, vol. I. p. 296. Note.

er Williams's Key. Among the sources of the manuscript evidence, are the records of the Old Colony, and of the first church in Plymouth, and two compilations by Samuel Davis, Esq. of Plymouth, designated by the titles of *Ancient Vestiges* and *Historical Extracts*. The venerable semblance of the lost seal of the Old Colony, is preserved in a copy made from the book of laws, which was published in 1685. A *fac simile* is annexed of the signatures of Governors Bradford, Edward Winslow, and Prince, Elder Brewster, Captain Standish, and Secretary Morton; and a lithographic copy of a map, published in 1677, 'being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best pattern that could be had,' serves, as Judge Davis well remarks, when compared with the beautiful delineation of the same territory lately furnished by Mr Hale, as an encouraging specimen of the progress of the arts among the pilgrim race.

The editor's principal dependence for his illustrations, down to the autumn of 1623, is on the works cited by the titles *Mourt's Journal*, and *Winslow's Good Newes from New England*. As he does not give an account of these highly interesting remains, some of our readers may be inclined, for want of better, to have one from us.

Edward Winslow, who came out in the first ship, passed the winter of 1623-24 in England, and there published his 'Good Newes, or a True Relation of things very remarkable,' occurring between January 1622, and the second following September. The authorship of Mourt's Relation which, with the exception of three months, in the early part of 1621, fills the chasm between the sailing from England and this period, is unappropriated. There was no person of that name among the early settlers. In 1802, an abridgment of both tracts, contained in a very scarce volume of Purchas, was given to the public by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the originals not being then known to be in existence. In 1819, by the aid of Mr Duponceau, a complete copy of Mourt was obtained from the city library of Philadelphia. The Ebeling library has since done the same service for Winslow, and from these the *παρалаιπόμενα* of the first edition of both works were supplied in Vol. IX. 2d Series, of the Society's Collections. The annotator upon the first promulgated fragments of the *Journal*, was of opinion, that Mourt was its printer or publisher, and that it might, with much probability, be ascribed to Winslow, but for a somewhat

different spelling of the Indian names. In an introductory epistle to the reader, brought to light in the entire work, and signed G. Mourt, he says, 'myself shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business, and in the mean time, these relations, coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general;' from which, and other language betokening a person interested, it may be probably inferred, that he was one of the English *merchant adventurers*. In another prefatory letter, addressed to 'Mr I. P.' probably John Pierce, the patentee, the writer says, 'As for this poor relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner;' and Winslow, in a postscript to his *Good Neues*, refers such as are inquisitive concerning the earlier period to which they do not extend, to a 'former printed book,' '*gathered by the inhabitants of this present plantation at Plimouth in New England,*' and 'to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden lions, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.' This contribution of the company could scarcely be other than Mourt's Journal, which bears the imprint of being on sale by this same bibliopole, 'John Bellamie.' The body of the Journal has been ascribed to Bradford, on the ground of the similarity between its language, and that of the portions which Prince has preserved of that distinguished person's history. The account annexed of 'a journey to Packanokik, the habitation of the great king Massassoit,' being given in the first person, must needs have been furnished by Winslow or Stephen Hopkins, who were the only persons employed on that expedition. The journal of the ten auxiliaries furnished to Massassoit against the Narragansetts, written also by one of the party, and signed A. is attributed to Isaac Allerton, a person altogether likely to be sent on such a service; and Robert Cushman, the lay preacher of the first sermon uttered in New England, has the credit of the final paper signed R. C. containing 'Reasons and Considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of England into the parts of America,'—a controversy undertaken with diffidence, 'since,' says the author, 'it is the first attempt that hath been made, that I know of, to defend those enterprises,' but towards the elucidation of which, any minds, that yet labor upon it, may here find adduced various weighty testimonies of scripture and good sense.

The latter half of the Appendix is devoted to making up the deficiencies of Cotton's Supplement. To these it is little to say that we are reconciled, since they have given occasion to Judge Davis to prepare his spirited and satisfactory sketches of the lives of Governors Prince and Josiah Winslow, of the negotiations relating to the charter of 1691, by which Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts, and of Philip's war. These are far from being the least entertaining or important pages of the volume. In connexion with this last event, new light is thrown on a hitherto perplexing and painful subject, the death of Alexander, Philip's predecessor. It had been hitherto believed that the illness thus terminated was the consequence of offence which the highminded savage conceived at his treatment by Major Winslow, who had been despatched to bring him before the court at Plymouth, to answer for his correspondence with the Narragansetts ; and Philip has had the benefit of some sympathy, on the supposition that he was partly driven into hostilities by resentment of his brother's fate. Against this view, countenanced by Hubbard and Increase Mather, who themselves appeared in the character of champions against yet more injurious imputations, all which had hitherto been brought was scarcely more than plausible extenuation. From the testimony of Major Bradford, an officer of the expedition, detailed in a letter of John Cotton, minister of Plymouth, it now appears that all the essential circumstances of the transaction were misstated abroad at the time. Alexander manifested no reluctance to repair to Plymouth, giving a satisfactory reason why he had not done it when first summoned. So far from being kept in ward, awaiting the Governor's leisure, the matter in question was forthwith amicably adjusted between him and the magistrates, then at Plymouth, who courteously spared him the inconvenience of delay till the Governor's arrival from one of the cape towns. He set off on his way home, but in two or three days returned, of his own motion, to the house of Major Winslow. While thus enjoying the hospitality of that gentleman, and not while under detention by him, he sickened. He was conveyed by water to Major Bradford's, and thence by his own people to his home, where in a few days he died. We wish the editor had been able to give us a like gratifying solution of that more vexatious problem, the execution of Miantonimo, the Narraganset sachem, in 1643, by Uncas, the Mohegan, with the counsel of the commissioners of

the United Colonies. He pleads well for them, but it is only hypothetically, and we must perforce say, that he has left this as he found it, the darkest spot on the sun of the New England annals. As far as yet appears, it was a deliberate and heinous wrong.

It is ill disputing with Judge Davis about facts, but as we look to have our review go down to posterity in the antiquarian collections, we think it meet to record our conviction, that the venerable John Watson was not the first, as is affirmed, but the second President of the Pilgrim Society, and that his predecessor was Judge Joshua Thomas. Also, we are dissatisfied with the criticism on Cotton Mather, who, in his memoir upon Warham of Dorchester, has hitherto been understood to say, that that gentleman was the first in New England who read his sermons. The grammatical construction of the passage is ambiguous. Mather (Mag. p. 121) gives an account of the origin of preaching with notes in England, and then goes on to distinguish between the *reading* and the *using* of them, treating last of such a *use* of them, as is consistent with the 'vivacity and efficacy of delivery.' Then, beginning a new paragraph, he says, 'I suppose the first preacher that ever *thus* preached with notes in our New England, was the Reverend Warham.' Judge Davis accounts the method of using them last described to be the antecedent of *thus*, and accordingly supposes that a more servile application to them had been in previous credit. We demur at this. Mather would hardly have made the name of Warham the text for a diatribe on these aids to eloquence, unless he had been the first to introduce them. The reason specified for the prejudice excited against Warham on this score, agrees only with our interpretation. 'Though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable *energy* of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives.' Moreover, unless we err, there are not a few skeletons of discourses of the earliest preachers preserved, which show that it was not the primitive practice to use the pen in the rhetorical part of their composition.

Persons curious in such inquiries desire freer access to such treasuries as the learning of Judge Davis, for circumstantial information concerning the character, appearance, and customs

of the aboriginal race. For some curious particulars relating to their domestic economy, their persons and manners, we refer to extracts from Mourt, given in this edition of the Memorial, (pp. 352, 355.) We are modest about gleanings in the editor's track, as well as about discussing with him, but we will venture to add to his a few selections from Mourt's Journal and Winslow's Good Newes, pertaining to similar points.

Winslow gives the following account of the religious faith and practices of the neighboring savage tribes.

'As they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none; he (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we, and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not. At first they say there was no sachim, or king, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things; this his habitation lies far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also and knock at his door, but he bids them Quatchet, that is to say, Walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury.' 'This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

'Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the northward of us Hobbamoqui; this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases.' 'This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake; he appears not to all but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confess I neither know by name or office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them; another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Pniese.' *Mass. Hist. Col. 2d Series*, vol. ix. pp. 91, 92.

He goes on with an account of the offices denoted by these two titles. The former dignitary exercised the faculties of a priest of Hobbamock and a professor of the healing art, a union which assuredly none but a most erratic imagination could have feigned. The latter were a sort of rough hewn knights templars.

affecting a character of sacerdotal staidness, but more expert with the sword than with the rosary. Their government, as he describes it, was a kind of feudal rule, characterized by the pride of that polity, its exclusive property, its system of revenue, its despotic spirit, and its indulgent parental practices. Their simple division of labor assigned the chase to the men, and to Eve's representatives all the drudgery. Their laws were merciful, and for the most part just, though there were probably some flaws in the execution, when the sachem was at once legislator, court, jury, and sheriff.

‘As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel, but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and rub or chafe the same. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. *Ibid.* p. 98.

‘They are of complexion like our English gipsies; no hair, or very little, on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These [the first party with whom the settlers conversed] left, according to our charge, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from the town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like anticks. They brought with him in a thing like a bow case, which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn pounded to powder, which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions as they liked.’ *Mass. Hist. Col.* vol. viii. p. 227.

In the work before us is inserted a letter from King Philip to Governor Prince, which was probably indited in 1663, by Sausaman, a Massachusetts Indian, who had been a pupil of the English.

‘To the much honored governer mr *thomas prince* dwelling at plimouth

‘honored sir,

‘King *philip* desire to let you understand that he could not

come to the court for tom his interpreter has a pain in his back that he could not travil so far, and philips sister is verey sik.

‘ Philip would intreat that faver of you and aney of the maies-trats, if aney english or engians speak about aney land he pray you to give them no ansewer at all the last summer he maid that promise with you that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, for that he would have no english trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him he will come asune as possible he can to speak with you

‘ and so I rest your very loving friend *philip* dwelling at mount hope nek.’ *Memorial*, pp. 288, 289.

Judge Davis has brought together not a few details of much interest relating to the social condition of our fathers, and their intercourse with the savages. We refer, for examples, to the extract from Winthrop's Journal (*Memorial*, p. 169), in which the pedestrian expedition of the governor, Wilson, and others, to Plymouth, and their reception there, is described; to the narratives from Mourt (pp. 354 and 356) of the first visit of Massassoit to the same place, and of the embassy of Winslow and Hopkins some weeks after, to his seat at Packanokick, now Bristol in Rhode Island; and (p. 366) to the subsequent journey of Winslow, with Hamden (probably the English patriot), when he went to act the part of nurse to the same savage ally. The latter, particularly, is a most moving chapter in the history of benevolence, besides the great importance of the occurrence which it relates, in its consequences to the infant colony; for Massassoit, in gratitude for his restoration to health, disclosed an extensive conspiracy of the Massachusetts Indians, in which he had been solicited to take part.

But we must extricate ourselves from this *ancient forest*, which has detained us so long, not with the thorns, but with the bloom and odors of its sweet briar. At the end of the three score years and ten, commemorated in this volume, the venerable mother colony, having outlived, by force of a vigorous moral vitality, its early complication of suffering and peril; having alternately extended protection to younger settlements in their weakness, and received it from their more precocious strength; having borne its part with stubborn constancy, and a prodigality of property and life, in a most critical, distressing, and costly contest; having seen, for the fifty famishing survivors of the band who first stepped upon its wintry beach, a hundred thousand of the same free race spread over the vailies of New

England,* had brought to a close its separate annals, attaining a stable dignity and strength in union with a more prosperous kindred community. We have enjoyed true satisfaction in retracing, with such skilful guidance, the steps of this strait, steady, upright progress. We find ourselves softened, admonished, purified, refreshed, in thus revisiting the *gentis cunabula nostræ*. We are awed by the devout, gentle, prudent, brave, constant, prospective spirit of the primitive conscript fathers; the spirit in which one of them, referring to their experience of all hardships, said, 'If ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we;' 'for in these straits, such was our state, that in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time; and though at some times in some seasons I have seen men stagger, by reason of faintness for want of food, yet God preserved us; yea, and from how many things that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things best can tell; so that I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation.' We are struck with reverence by their conscientious tenderness of the rights, and their self devoting care for the souls of the indigenous tribes,† and with admiration at the generosity which, time after time, shared their scanty and hardly earned supplies with the too often lawless freights of their roving countrymen, whom disaster or improvidence cast upon their charity. If we smile, it is not with contempt, at the simplehearted jealousy for their dearly bought possessions, which brought, for instance, the mysterious Gardiner into suspicion with them of having an understanding with the Pope, and subjected the rantipole Thomas Morton, and his 'Merry Mount,' to be qualified

* Captain Smith's account of Plymouth in the autumn of 1624, as abridged by Prince, is as follows. 'There are now about 180 persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirtytwo dwelling houses. The town is impaled about a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town they have a fort, well built with wood, lime, and stone, and a fair watch house.' Dr Trumbull reckoned the number of inhabitants in New England, in 1675, at between 35,000 and 36,000. Judge Davis thinks it could not have been less than 50,000. In 1708, William Brattle of Cambridge estimated it to be between 100,000 and 150,000.

† The number of converted, or, as they were called, *praying Indians*, at the breaking out of Philip's war, when it was greater than before or since, was estimated at about 3600.

by some of the worst designations in the heathen mythology, besides a domiciliary visit and rebuke from 'that worthy gentleman, Mr John Endicot,' and rougher dealing at the more practised hands of Captain Standish. We glory with them in their meek pride when, reflecting upon the breaking up of the settlement at Weymouth, which they had been at most inconvenient cost to feed and defend, while they were in continual danger from the effects of its irregularities upon the Indians, they say, 'This was the end of those that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able and lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women, and children, and weak ones, and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course, and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to ; but a man's way is not in his own power ; God can make the weak stand.' We are touched with the humility of their record concerning their brethren in the Massachusetts, from whom, as the weaker from the stronger, they sometimes received measure not precisely according with the golden rule, that 'those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow soldiers, that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness.' An ample roll of serious thought is opened, when, from the eminence of prosperity where now we stand, we go back to the lowly graves whither was followed one after another good man, 'that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus' and the gospel's sake, and borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor, persecuted church, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling ;' and even those specimens of elegiac poetry which this rich volume furnishes, though doubtless not the most harmonious offspring of the muse, have to our view the better merit of breathing the solemn, hopeful, affectionate spirit of noble natures.
